DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 166 107 SO 011 488

AUTHOR Kohler, Gernot
TITLE Global Apartheid. Working Paper Number Seven.
INSTITUTION Institute for World Order, New York, N.Y.
PUB DATE 78
NOTE 18p.; Charts throughout document may not reproduce clearly due to small print type in original
AVAILABLE FROM Institute for World Order, 1140 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10036 ($1.50, paper cover, quantity discounts available)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Change Strategies; Changing Attitudes; Civil Liberties; Conflict Resolution; *Developed Nations; *Developing Nations; Economic Development; Economic Disadvantagement; Economic Factors; Futures (of Society); *Global Approach; Human Dignity; International Relations; Justice; *Living Standards; Political Attitudes; Political Issues; Political Power; *Power Structure; Quality of Life; *Racial Balance; Racial Distribution; Racial Factors; Social Factors; Tables (Data); World Problems
IDENTIFIERS Africa (South)

ABSTRACT

Presenting the view that global society is an apartheid system, this paper defines global apartheid, analyzes some of its most striking features, and suggests strategies to overcome its worst aspects. Apartheid occurs whenever a minority race dominates a majority of other races in a society; an example is South Africa. Global apartheid, then, is a structure in which (1) a minority of whites is affluent while a majority of other races is impoverished, (2) social integration is deterred by the barriers of skin color, economic position, and political boundaries, (3) economic development of the two groups is interdependent, and (4) the affluent white minority possesses a disproportionately large share of political, social, and military power. Statistics show that although two-thirds of the world's population is non-white and one-third is white, the predominately white nations, with the exception of Japan, are the richest in terms of gross national product. Life expectancy, weapons control, and violence are also proportionately related to global apartheid. The need for reform of such a system is urgent and necessary. Change will occur when the system is challenged from below by the majority of impoverished groups. This will disturb the status quo attitude of the white minority which continues to maintain apartheid at the cost of economic health and security, military security, liberty, and human growth for all people. (KC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED166107

Global Apartheid

GERNOT KÖHLER

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Saul Mendovitz

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

WORLD ORDER MODELS PROJECT
WORKING PAPER NUMBER SEVEN
1978

SP-01488

This paper is one in a series of working papers commissioned by the World Order Models Project in its effort to stimulate research, education, dialogue, and political action which will contribute to a movement for a just world order. The papers will deal with major global problems facing humanity, and particularly vexing contemporary political, economic, social, and cultural issues within an analytic and normative framework guided by the concepts and values of peace, economic well-being, social justice, and ecological stability. Special emphasis will be given to the necessity and feasibility of structural transformation of today's fragmented world in order to resolve these problems and achieve just world order results.

A Working Group of the World Order Models Project (WOMP) will use these papers in its new program aimed at publishing a statement in 1980 outlining the strategies for realizing just world order during this century. We invite interested individuals throughout the globe to respond to the various papers either directly to the individual authors or to WOMP. These communications will figure significantly in the WOMP Working Group's final statement. Where appropriate, the responses and critiques will be published in *Alternatives: A Journal of World Policy*.

WORLD ORDER MODELS PROJECT

Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (Delhi, India)

Institute for World Order (New York, N.Y., U.S.A.)

Synergic Developments Associated to
Foundacion Barioloche (Bariloche, Argentina)

World Order Studies Project (Tokyo, Japan)

Co-Directors: Rajni Kothari, Saul Mendlovitz

© *Institute for World Order, Inc., 1140 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10036, U.S.A., 1978.*

Printed in the United States.

GLOBAL APARTHEID*

Gernot KÖHLER†

The concept of apartheid has significance far beyond the situation in South Africa which coined the term. Indeed, the concept can be generalized to apply to the present world situation. It provides both a better understanding of the present human condition and more effective guidelines for action to change it. The processes of interdependence, interpenetration and intercommunication in the present era have made the entire humanity into one global society. The present nation–state system, which obscures the appearance of this society, fails miserably in responding to the concerns and needs of the global community. The concept of global apartheid provides a more realistic and comprehensive view of the world and suggests appropriate ways of so acting as to make a beginning toward realizing a just, participatory, peaceful and humane global society.

This paper presents the view that Global Society is an apartheid system. The purpose of this paper will be to define and describe global apartheid, analyse some of its most striking features, and suggest some broad strategy lines for overcoming its worst aspects.

Structural similarities with South African apartheid

It would be useful for our present discussion to distinguish between apartheid as a policy and apartheid as it is practiced within specific societies. Policies of apartheid are programs or measures that aim at the creation or maintenance of racial segregation. Supporters of such policies claim that segregated development of two racial groups does not imply the dominance of one over the other. Apartheid, in this view, permits the possibility of separate but equal, or equivalent, life chances for each of the separated races. The logic of this argument apart, its validity has been disproved in fact wherever such a policy has been professedly tried. Apartheid policies just cannot be pursued and sustained except in the context of structural apartheid.

When we speak of apartheid as a structure, we refer to the social,

*The author is grateful to Philip Beardsley, Elise Boulding, Richard Falk, Rajni Kothari, Ali Mazrui, and especially Saul Mendlovitz for their encouragement, help and criticism. This paper is identified as LIV Paper No. 27A of the Limits to Violence Project of the Canadian Peace Research Institute.

†*Center of International Studies, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.*

economic, political, military, and cultural constitution of a society. Whenever a minority race dominates a majority composed of other races in a society, that society exhibits a structure of apartheid.

South Africa is a classic example of this. In South Africa, the dominance of the white minority over the black majority takes different forms – from the denial of political representation to the black majority to brutal repression to an enormous differential in living standards to many others.

Condemnation of South African apartheid has been almost universal. The UN General Assembly has condemned racism and apartheid in South Africa on numerous occasions, with majorities bordering on unanimity, despite the well-known reluctance of member-states to have the organization intervene in the domestic jurisdiction of any state. If on few issues in international politics there has been such a massive agreement, it is because policies of racial segregation, which assure the dominance of the white stratum of society, flagrantly violate the aspirations of a majority of humanity for liberation from dominance and are in sharp conflict with the norms of equality of all human beings, and because apartheid constitutes the most repugnant form of human rights violation.

It is argued below that the apartheid structure of the global society has important similarities with that of South Africa. Indeed, the global society is a mirror reflection of South African society. One can go a step further and say that global apartheid is even more severe than South African apartheid. There seems to be no other system that is more 'apart', in the sense in which apartheid is. Let us, then, look at the macrostructure of the global society.

The structure of global society

The world is commonly seen as a multitude of countries or nation-states. World politics and world economics are commonly understood as a set of relations between sovereign nation-states. This view, though not wrong, is limited. It is true that nation-states issue passports and visas, show national flags, organize military forces, make national laws, conduct foreign policy, make trade agreements with other nation-states, and so on. World affairs can be comprehended by what nations and their governments do to each other, be it in the military, economic, cultural, or other domains. Such intergovernmental and interstate exchanges and relations today seem all-important, although their importance in relation to the activities of nongovernmental actors and in relation to supranational organizations are changing. In recent years, an increasing awareness of interdependence has led to some questioning of the manner in which the nation-state system

operates. Numerous observers have become sensitive to the phenomenon of transnationalism, which implies a diminution in the sovereignty of individual states. Nevertheless, the prevailing view still is that the most useful way of understanding global politics is through the prism of the nation–state system.

Without questioning the validity of these views, we now propose an alternative – namely, to view the world as a macrosociety. This view is reinforced by pictures of the earth as seen from outer space, by an increased sense of economic interdependence between countries, by the emergence of world conferences for the airing of views on diverse subjects of global interest, by intellectual endeavors and scientific models which treat the world as a single system. The notions of meeting the basic needs of four to eight billion people, establishment of minimal levels of decency with regard to civil and political liberties of all individuals and groups, notions of pollution and resource depletion and of quality of life are becoming more commonplace in the rhetoric of academics, policy–makers and knowledgable and responsible individuals around the globe. Perhaps the most forceful illustration of this approach is a recent article by Nathan Keyfitz in which he analyzes the social structure of the world as if the globe was a single society.[1] We believe that these trends capture a part of reality not adequately comprehended by the paradigm of the nation–state system, and it is in that spirit that we wish to speculate about world society.

When we view the world society as a macrosociety, we begin to ask questions that we normally ask only with regard to national societies – e.g. is it nice to live there? What is the political system of this society? What is its economic system and how does the world society allocate its resources? How is this society stratified? What is the role of women in world society? How does world society treat its children? What are the race relations in the world society? How does the world society protect its members from murder and mass murder? How does it provide for social security? Is it a happy society? These questions are different from those dealt with in the study of international politics and international economics, if only because they relate to the world society rather than to the nation–state.

The literature that comes closest to dealing with global structure in this sense is to be found in the writings on imperialism, dependency, and center–periphery relations. These see the world society as a highly stratified macrosociety which is characterized by exploitation and relations of political, economic, military, and psychological domination and dependence between the center and the periphery of the world. This modern world system, which emerged in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, transcends national

[1]Nathan Keyfitz, 'World Resources and the World Middle Class', *Scientific American 235*, 1, July 1976, pp. 28–35.

boundaries, cripples the economic circuits of peripheral societies, generates artificial underdevelopment, and affects both center and periphery countries in various domains other than economic.

While this mode of analysis is very valuable, it could be even more so if it stressed the important fact of racial stratification on a world scale and the attendant racist attitudes and behaviors, which are still with us although the formal empires have all but withered away. We therefore propose to use the concept of 'global apartheid' for the interpretation and analysis of the present structure of world society.

As indicated above, our contention is that the structure of the world is very similar to the structure of South Africa and that both are equally appalling. The similarity manifests itself in all major dimensions of analysis – political, economic, military, cultural, psychological, social, racial and legal. A formal definition of 'global apartheid', though capturing only the skeleton of a concept, might read thus: Global apartheid is a structure of world society which combines socioeconomic and racial antagonisms and in which (i) a minority of whites occupies the pole of affluence, while a majority composed of other races occupies the pole of poverty; (ii) social integration of the two groups is made extremely difficult by barriers of complexion, economic position, political boundaries, and other factors; (iii) economic development of the two groups is interdependent; (iv) the affluent white minority possesses a disproportionately large share of world society's political, economic, and military power. Global apartheid is thus a structure of extreme inequality in cultural, racial, social, political, economic, military and legal terms, as is South African apartheid.

Some data on global apartheid

In South Africa, the population ration between the nonwhite majority and the white minority is about 4·7 to 1. In the world society, about two–thirds of the population is nonwhite and one–third white. Both in South Africa and in world society, being 'white' and belonging to the upper stratum tend to go together, although there are also poor whites and rich nonwhites. The upper stratum – both in South Africa and the world – is not a homogeneous group. There exist linguistic–ethinic–cultural cleavages within this stratum (notably, Afrikaner versus English in South Africa, and 'West' versus 'East' in global society). The whites in South Africa and in the world alike enjoy a higher standard of living and have more power than the nonwhites. The world income tree (Figure 1, p. 267) shows the economic stratification of the world. It shows the rich countries at the top and the poor countries at the

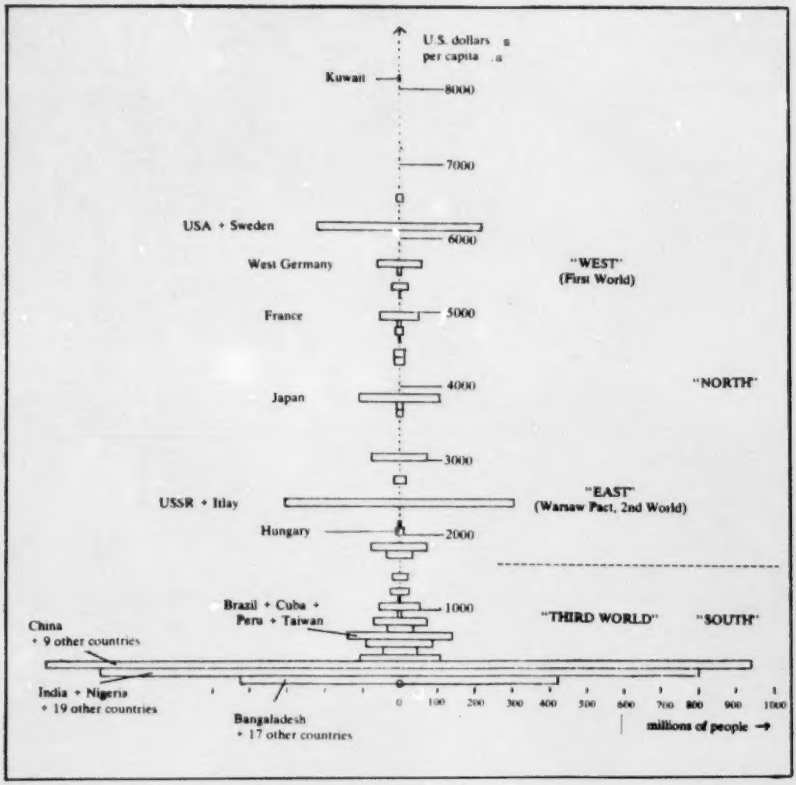

Figure 1
World income tree

Vertical axis = GNP per capita (US$) intervals of 100
Horizontal axis = number of persons living at each income level.
Source: Ruth Leger Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures 1976* (Leesburg, Virg.: WMSE Publications), pp. 21–31. The grouping of data by intervals of $100.00 per capita done by the auother.

bottom according to their per capita gross national product, and countries with similar wealth are grouped together. The length of the bars shown in the figure indicates how many people belong to each income group. Figure 1 thus shows how about two–thirds of humanity live at, or close to, the bottom of the socioeconomic pyramid of the world, while one–third of humankind live in middle and top positions. The West (or, the 'First World') and the East (i.e. the 'Second World') occupy the top and middle ranks of this tree. They happen to be predominantly 'white', Japan being the major exception.

They are the upper crust of the world society in much the same way as Afrikaner and English whites in South Africa are the upper stratum of that society.

When we treat the world as a single society and compare its inequality to situations of inequality *within* certain countries, we find that *global* inequality of income is even more severe than the income inequality within national societies (Table 1).

Table 1
Income shares

	Bulgaria	USA	India	South Africa	World
Segment of population	percentages of gross national product (or gross global product) received by the three segments of population				
Top 20%	33·2	38·8	52·0	58·0	71·3
Middle 40%	40·0	41·5	32·0	35·8	23·5
Lowest 40%	26·8	19·7	16·0	6·2	5·2

Sources: 1. Roger D. Hansen, *The U.S. and World Development: Agenda for Action 1976* (New York: Praeger, 1975), pp. 148–149 for Bulgaria (1962), USA (1970), India (1964), and South Africa (1965);
2. World Bank, *Population Policies and Economic Development* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1974), p. 37 for World (1971).

As Table 1 shows, the income inequality of the world is even worse than that of South Africa. In South Africa, the poorest 40% of the population receive only 6·2% of the national product, while the poorest 40% of the world receive an even smaller share (5·2% of the world product). At the other end of the spectrum, the richest 20% of South Africa's population take 58·0% of the income, while the richest 20% of the world take even more (71·3% of world income).

Life expectancy is also an index of global apartheid. The members of the affluent, predominantly white societies of the 'North' live longer than the members of the poor, predominantly nonwhite societies of the Third World (see Figure 2, p. 269) . It shows that life expectancy is lowest for the poorest countries and tends to rise in proportion to a country's wealth until a certain threshold is reached. Above that threshold of wealth, life expectancy tends to change very little. The countries of the 'North' enjoy a similar, high life expectancy. Eastern Europe is, in this respect, as privileged as the Western affluent societies.

It should be noted, too, that most of the world's weapons of mass destruction are owned by the white societies of the 'North' – the United States, USSR, France, and England. World Wars I and II and the possibility of a

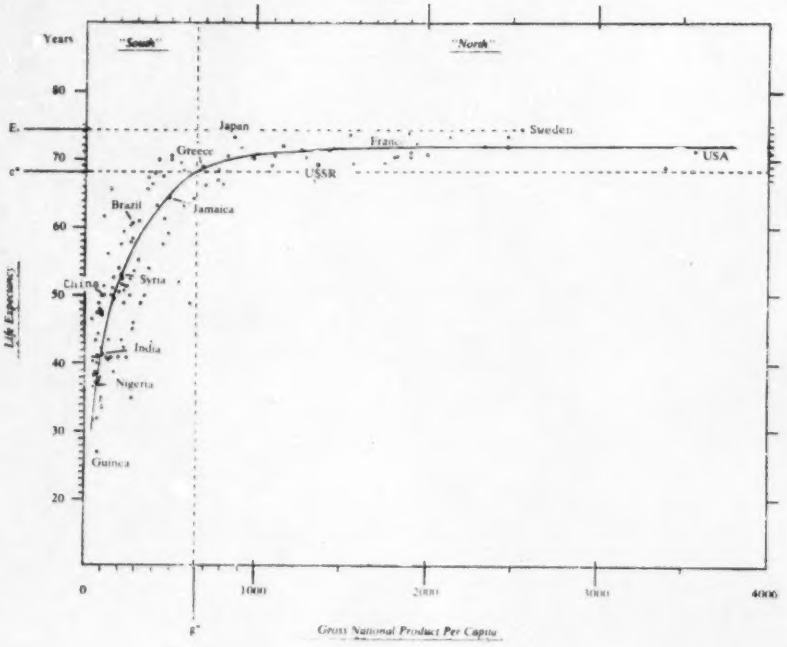

Figure 2
Relationship of life expectancy with per capita GNP

Source: Adapted from G. Köhler and N. Alcock, 'An Empirical Table of Structural Violence', *Journal of Peace Research 13*, 4, 1976.

future nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union have so much occupied the minds of some of us in the affluent countries that we fail to see that *actual* international violence (resulting from international wars and intervention) and *actual* civil violence (from revolutions, riots, massacres, etc.) and actual structural violence[2] (from miserable socioeconomic conditions) are all related to global apartheid. Estimates for the year 1965

[2] 'Structural violence' is a term used in contemporary peace research and is to be distinguished from armed violence. While armed violence is violence exerted by persons against persons with the use of arms, structural violence is violence exerted by situations, institutions, social, political and economic structures. Thus, when a person dies because he/she has no access to food, the effect is violent as far as that person is concerned, yet there is no individual actor who could be identified as the source of this violence. It is the system of food production and distribution that is to blame. The violence is thus exerted by an anonymous 'structure'. The measurement of the number of persons killed through sturctural violence uses statistics of life expectancy. By comparing the life expectancy of affluent regions with that of poor regions, one can estimate how many persons died in a poor region on account of poverty and poverty-related conditions (e.g. lack of doctors, clean water, food, etc.), which can be interpreted as 'structural violence'.

show how all three forms of large-scale violence are unequally distributed in a manner that is consistent with global apartheid (see Table 2).

Table 2
The inequality of global violence

A. Estimated world totals, 1965. Deaths from:		
international violence		11 500–23 000
civil violence		92 000
structural violence		14 000 000–18 000 000
B. Distribution of violent deaths, 1965 (World = 100% in each category)		
Affluent 'North'	population	30·6%
	international violence	9·1%
	civil violence	·1%
	structural violence	4·2%
Poor 'South'	population	69·4%
	international violence	90·9%
	civil violence	99·9%
	structural violence	95·8%

Source: Gernot Kohler and Norman Alcock, 'An Empirical Table of Structural Violence', *Journal of Peace Research*, 4. The percentages for structural violence are based on the so-called Swedish Model.

Table 2 shows the enormous inequality of death and suffering from war and other forms of violence. If violence were equally distributed, the North, with 30% of the world's population, would suffer 30% of all forms of violence and the South, with 70% of world population, would suffer 70% of all violent deaths. The data indicate, however, that the South has suffered much more than 'its fair share' of violent death – namely, over 90% in all categories – and that the North has had correspondingly low shares.

While comparable up-to-date estimates are not available, preliminary calculations suggest the following developments since 1965:

(a) The world total of deaths due to structural violence seems to have declined slightly despite the rise in world population. It can be assumed that the distribution of fatalities between the North and the South remains as unequal since 1965 as it was in 1965.

(b) The world total of deaths due to large-scale armed violence, both international and domestic, does not exhibit a steady trend but fluctuates considerably from year to year and period to period. Between 1965 and 1976, a peak was reached in 1971 when the Pakistan–Bangladesh–India war and the war in Vietnam sent the annual world total of deaths in this category to about 1·5 million or more. From 1973 to 1976, the corresponding world

figure may have been around 100 000 deaths, with the inequality between the North and the South remaining undisturbed.[3]

The need for reform of the international system

Most observers agree that the international system is currently in a phase of major changes, although there is a wide range of views both on the nature and on the most desirable direction of this transformation. In our view, the world society, structured like global apartheid, clearly requires reforms in order to make the society more suitable for living in for most of its members. Just as the world community opposes apartheid in South Africa, it should also oppose global apartheid. Ideally, reform should lead to the abolition of global apartheid. This is not merely a moral demand; for two-thirds of this world society, it is urgent and necessary to enable this multiracial majority to live a life of dignity.

For the more affluent societies of the North, the abolition of global apartheid may not seem urgent, but it is in their own interest no less than in the interest of the South to actively press for a world without apartheid. This view is dictated by political and economic prudence. As the examples of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and South Africa amply illustrate, the maintenance of an apartheid system is costly in political, military, social, economic, and psychological terms.

But as long as the apartheid system is not challenged from below, the self-interest of the upper stratum, defined in narrow wealth and power terms, is tied to the perpetuation of the status quo. As soon as it is effectively challenged from below, the costs of maintaining it begin to rise. When the lower stratum of the system becomes highly self-assertive and permanently 'unruly' in the perspective of the predominantly white upper stratum, the self-interest of the upper stratum is no longer served by the defense of the status quo. Prudent upper-stratum statesmanship then feels inclined to doubt its usefulness in terms of the costs of maintaining apartheid. The following is a short list of such costs.

(1) *Economic health.* The world economy cannot unfold its full productive potential because global apartheid impedes the productivity of the Third World and, thereby, keeps the North's income from trade with the South far

[3] Trends in global structural and armed violence in the twentieth century are being investigated by William Beckhardt and Gernot Köhler. The research is in progress.

below what it could be. This, in turn, contributes to slow growth, inflation, and unemployment in the North.

(2) *Economic security*. The affluent countries require oil, minerals and other goods from the Third World. Lack of North's responsiveness to Third World interests increases South's inclination to disrupt oil and resource flows to the North.

(3) *Military security*. Deep economic conflicts in the world system contribute to the world's military instability. This is dangerous for the affluent countries in view of the fact that even those armed conflicts which are seemingly 'peripheral' from the viewpoint of the North can lead to a breakdown of deterrence and to a large-scale war between the two major alliances of the North, as World War I illustrated.

(4) *Liberty*. Massive poverty breeds authoritarianism of the Right or the Left. To the extent that the affluent countries cherish the world-wide presence of liberty, the lack of liberty in the world, linked to global apartheid, must be counted as a cost.

(5) *Human growth*. For many people in the affluent societies who have a humanistic or spiritual orientation, the present world situation which stunts human growth and development on such a large scale is a cost.

The development of race relations in the United States provides an interesting illustration both of the opportunities and of the difficulties encountered in the abolition of an unfair racial situation. It shows that it is quite possible that major segments of the dominant white stratum come to support desegregation policies. On the other hand, the example also shows that progress in this direction is slow and that, even after the society's attitudes and laws on race have begun to change, the problem continues in terms of class differences.

Major dimensions of reform

It is not enough to set out to abolish global apartheid; there ought to be a fair idea of where to go – i.e. there ought to be an image of an alternative world structure. Such an alternative would, in my opinion, have to satisfy the following criteria: (1) basic needs for all individuals are satisfied and abject poverty is eradicated; (2) racial discrimination is eliminated; and (3) international and intranational income differences are significantly reduced.

activities of the lay members of churches in North America and Europe in voluntary aid to the Third World and in opposition to South African apartheid are a clear illustration of this point. Nor do the 'masses' in Third World countries necessarily oppose collaboration between their leaders and Northern countries. In short, the center–periphery paradigm is partly true, but it is far from an accurate description of the reality.

If we view the world as structured on the lines of global apartheid, the role of the Northern, white opponent to global apartheid – 'elite' or 'mass' – makes sense. Similarly, the Southern, nonwhite moderate collaborator with the North – 'elite' or 'mass' – can be seen under the paradigm of global apartheid, as a shrewd politician on behalf of underdog interests or a traitor to those interests – depending on circumstances and behavior – whereas he is made out to be invariably a traitor of underdog interests in the center–periphery paradigm.

The world is thus most realistically depicted as a society which is 'apart' and stratified, i.e. global apartheid, and which encompasses armed nation–states as administrational districts. Policies for world reform can mobilize support not only in the 'periphery of the periphery', as center–periphery analysis assumes, but throughout the North and the South, both among 'elites' and 'masses'. As in any large–scale political movement, different sectors of the movement may support even a drastic reform movement for somewhat different reasons and on the basis of a combination of different interests.

Socioeconomic issues are obviously central to the abolition of global apartheid. At the same time, other dimensions – military, political–legal, ecological, and cultural–psychological – are related to the socioeconomic issues and must undoubtedly be attended to in any attempt to abolish that system. Thus, we believe that it can be shown that the prospect of progress toward disarmament would be vastly improved by a movement directed toward abolishing global apartheid. Similarly, modification of the institutional structures at the global level (e.g. in the World Bank, international commodity markets, and others) should be enhanced to permit racial balance and fair representation of the world's multiracial majority. Thirdly, ecological considerations might be given serious attention by persons in the Third World if the movement for an ecologically sane world took recognition of the world's apartheid. Finally, in the cultural–psychological realm, we must learn cognitions and attitudes which combine positive communal and national identifications with positive attitudes toward a common world society and which entail a respect for common global concerns and interests as opposed to particularistic national interests.

Toward a just, participatory, peaceful and humane global society

It is generally recognized that social theory and the major concepts of an era arise out of, and respond to, the underlying material and social conditions which have a bearing on political action and the establishment of normative orders. Thus, for example, both Adam Smith and Karl Marx would probably agree that the notions of the marketplace and of class antagonism were products of empirical situations which favored the use of such concepts and the values they imply. Concepts which are able to combine a grasp of the ongoing behavioral world and provide a normative thrust become the basis, then, for determining what is considered as 'knowledge', 'information' and 'data' about the world, and how we are to behave towards it. We have attempted to articulate the concept of global apartheid because we believe that the processes of interdependence, interpenetration, and the communicative era in which we live are making the planetary dimension of human society the most significant new prism through which to view social processes and the social organization of humanity. We believe further that the state system fails miserably in meeting the concerns and needs of this emerging global community. It is our contention that the concept of global apartheid – even in the limited form in which we have presented it here – provides us with a more comprehensive and realistic way of viewing the world, and thus enables us to suggest ways of behaving and acting in the political, economic and social realm so as to begin to realize a just, participatory, peaceful, and humane global society.

WORLD ORDER MODELS PROJECT PUBLICATIONS

Book Series on Preferred Worlds for the 1990s

Richard A. Falk, *A Study of Future Worlds* ($15.00 hardcover; $6.95 paper)

Johan Galtung, *The True Worlds* (forthcoming)

Rajni Kothari, *Footsteps into the Future: Diagnosis of the Present World and a Design for an Alternative* ($8.95 hardcover; $3.95 paper)

Gustavo Lagos and Horacio H. Godoy, *Revolution of Being: A Latin American View of the Future* ($15.00 hardcover)

Ali A. Mazrui, *A World Federation of Cultures: An African Perspective* ($14.95)

Saul H. Mendlovitz (ed.), *On the Creation of a Just World Order: Preferred Worlds for the 1990s* ($9.95 hardcover; $4.95 paper)

Working Paper Series

Fouad Ajami, *Human Rights and World Order Politics* ($1.50)

Richard A. Falk, *Nuclear Policy and World Order: The Case for Denuclearization* ($1.50)

Robert C. Johansen, *Toward a Dependable Peace: A Proposal for an Appropriate Security System** ($1.50)

Yoshikazu Sakamoto, *Korea as a World Order Issue* ($1.50)

Periodical

Alternatives: A Journal of World Policy (Quarterly; $15.00 per year for individuals; $30.00 per year for libraries and institutions)

WOMP publications are available at the prices indicated from the Institute for World Order, 1140 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10036. Bulk copies of the WOMP Working Papers are available at the following prices: 5–25 copies, $1.00 each; 26 and over, 75¢ each.

*Prepared originally for the Grenville Clark Project of the Institute for World Order.

The World Order Models Project (WOMP) is an association of individuals and institutes throughout the globe engaged in research, education, dialogue, and action aimed at promoting a just world order. Over the next three years WOMP will be: (1) publishing and disseminating a series of Working Papers on the major global problems and issues facing the people of the planet; (2) sponsoring three task forces and publishing their respective reports on Disarmament, Security and Human Rights, Global Culture and the Evolving Just World Order, and Technology and Development for Basic Human Needs; and, (3) incorporating through its Working Group these materials, and responses to them, in a major statement on the prospects and programs for realizing a just world order over the last decades of the twentieth century.

Affiliate Institutes of the World Order Models Project Association include:

Centre for the Study of Developing Societies.
29, Raipur Road Delhi 110054, India

Institute for World Order
1140 Avenue of the Americas,
New York, N.Y. 10036, U.S.A.

Synergic Developments, Associated with
Fundacion Bariloche,
Casilla de Correo 138,
8400 San Carlos de Bariloche,
Province de Rio Negro
Argentina

World Order Studies Project,
c/o Yoshikazu Sakamoto, Faculty of Law
University of Tokyo, Hongo, Bunkyo-ku,
Tokyo 113, Japan

WORLD ORDER VALUES
Peace·Economic Well-Being·Social Justice·Ecological Balance

$1.50

For this purpose, it is necessary to make a realistic assessment of the present structure and its dynamics. As noted above, there are two competing paradigms which claim to provide an accurate view of the world: the classical nation–state paradigm and the center–periphery paradigm. It is now generally recognized that a pure nation–state paradigm does not sufficiently correctly conceptualize the enormous economic and racial stratification of the world. The center–periphery paradigm, on the other hand, though a valuable contribution to the understanding of the dynamics of the global political economy, is found to be rather constrictive when attempts are made to apply it to political and social action in all the regions of the world.

The example of South Africa is very instructive in this regard. When we apply the center–periphery analysis to the South African situation, all members of the white minority have to be considered as members of the 'center', and all members of the black majority as members of the 'periphery'. While this interpretation seems plausible, one of its inferences does not hold for South Africa. The center–periphery analysis assumes or predicts that all members of the center have an interest in maintaining the unfair status quo. In South Africa, however, as Steve Biko pointed out, white opposition to the status quo has been at times very strong and was, on occasion, stronger than the black opposition to it.[4] The center–periphery analysis is thus – for the South African situation – not as 'realistic' as one might think. I am contending that, at the global level, the center–periphery paradigm is likewise too rigid and less realistic.

At the world level, we find many members in the 'center of the center', i.e. elites in the North, who oppose global apartheid and global militarism. We also find many elites in the Third World who do not behave as lackeys of the global center, as assumed or predicted by the center–periphery theory. Furthermore, the 'periphery of the center', i.e. workers, housewives, employees, etc. in the countries of the North, do not unequivocally support the 'center of the center' in efforts to maintain the global status quo. The

[4] An interview with Steve Biko, conducted by Bernard Zylstra and published in the *Christian Science Monitor*, 10 November, 1977, pp. 18–19, contains the following passages.

Question: What is black consciousness?

Biko: By black consciousness I mean the cultural and political revival of an oppressed people ... So black consciousness says: 'Forget about colour!' But the reality we faced 10 to 15 years ago did not allow us to articulate this. After all, the continent was in a period of rapid decolonization, which implied a challenge to black inferiority all over Africa.

This challenge was shared by white liberals. So for quite some time the white liberals acted as the spokesmen for the blacks ...

.... Society as a whole was divided into white and black groups. This forced division had to disappear; and many nonracial groups worked toward that end. But almost every nonracial group was still largely white, notably so in the student world .... So we began to realize that blacks themselves had to speak out about the black predicament ...

At this time we were also influenced by the development of a black consciousness movement in the United States ...